

MAN!



*"Man is the measure-
ment of everything."*

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 8 — No. 2

Administration and Editorial Address:
P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif., February, 1940

1 (553)

Single Copy 5 Cents

WAR AND PROSPERITY!

For almost six full years the New Deal administration under President Roosevelt has been wrestling with the economic problem. Big business as well as amateur industrialists, liberal economists as well as reactionary politicians, brain-trusters as well as clever stock-brokers—all have lent their expert knowledge in domestic economy to help bring back prosperity and so eliminate the acute problem of mounting unemployment which has been steadily continuing on the upgrade.

Theoretically, if measured by the enormous profits big business has yielded to corporations and industrialists, the country has shown a marked improvement for the six year period under Roosevelt. Recent statistics given by the Associated Press substantially prove that in the sixth year of Roosevelt business is more than 50 percent better than in the third year of the Hoover administration.

In supporting the accuracy of its statement, the Associated Press has produced a long list of facts and figures from which only a limited few are presented here as a basis for comparison:

Commodity	1932 Under Hoover	1939 Under Roosevelt
Monetary gold stock	\$4,345,000,000.	\$15,801,000,000
Federal Reserve Credit	1,859,000,000.	2,572,000,000.
Currency circulation	5,548,000,000.	6,915,000,000.
U. S. Steel (tons shipped)	1,124,851.	2,235,209.
Steel ingot output	4,329,830.	9,506,594.
Pig iron output	3,757,196.	8,315,927.
Automobile production	376,665	1,055,576.
Petroleum output (bbls.)	36,936,900	57,175,850.
U. S. Exports	461,000,000.	699,821,000.
U. S. Imports	398,000,000	526,652,000.
Railway earnings (51 roads)	66,045,525.	84,998,333.

On the basis of this survey it may well be concluded that the big industrialists and Wall Street magnates have not fared so badly under Roosevelt. All the hue and cry raised from time to time against the New Deal by Tory financiers seems to be rather for psychological reasons than economic stress. On more than one occasion it has been proven that, notwithstanding the long depression from which the country, as a whole, suffered since the 1929 economic breakdown, big business has shared its allotted profit and has comfortably enjoyed a period of unlimited prosperity.

But there is a problem. Amidst all the wealth and plenty enjoyed by the privileged class, there stands an army of about twelve to fifteen million unemployed. While the fat-bellied profiteers realize enormous dividends on their investments and feast sumptuously on "chicken pots" which the New Deal recovery has provided for them, there are millions ill-fed, ill-clad jobless men and women who are never sure whether the morrow will provide them and their families with even the bare necessities of sustaining life. This disproportionate condition served to disturb their peace of mind; not on moral or ethical grounds, of course, but on purely individualistic motives. These motives, in terms of economic analogy, simply mean that a chaotic condition such as vast accumulation of profit on the one hand and dire privation on the other may in time change the political and economic status of society to an extent that would make life very unpleasant for them. In other words, what they feared most from this unsocial arrangement in the economic status may be summarized in these disturbing causes:

1. A repetition of what followed after the 1929 disaster when, due to lack of purchasing power or inability by the majority of the public to meet financial obligations (such as rents, mortgage interest, etc.) all the security holdings were almost wiped out and the entire economic system was threatened with bankruptcy.

2. The huge deficit into which the Government is drifting by its immense spending on various projects, and which in the end "capital" will have to be taxed in order to obtain sufficient income for balancing the budget (this much should be clear: no matter how many taxes the government may levy on commodities or on other income-providing sources,

the great masses are hopelessly deprived of sufficient income to even commensurate with living expenditures let alone for taxing purposes to help restore the government's deficit which by now has reached the phenomenal figure of 41 billion).

3.—A constant fear that the great majority of people who, being deprived of a "living wage" by an economic system which is immoral and unjust, might some day prove very disastrous to the profiteering class, for, notwithstanding the various forms of subsidies the New Deal is providing for them, people will not abandon themselves to a disgraceful "relief" system without protest. Sooner or later they are bound to rise and demand the right and privilege to a decent human existence. Such revolt might prove very dangerous to the Tory kingdom.

In the aspect of these disturbing causes it remained for the ruling classes—the big profiteers as well as their chosen representatives—to search for ways and means by which to effect an economic readjustment. One social legislation met with opposition, another with approval,—it was all in vain. No matter what new scheme or device was introduced for bringing back recovery; no matter what concessions were granted by the Administration to the bankers and industrialists, or promises exacted from them, the problem of 15 million or so unemployed remained unsolved. This economic morass faced by capital on the issue of unemployment—or "surplus labor", as some economists now refer to it—gave them no repose and made them almost turn revolutionary against the New Deal and its unsettled economic policies.

Then it happened... Like a thunderbolt descending from high heaven Hitler decided to send his Nazi armies marching into Poland. This was the signal, well known by now, for a second world war. With England and France joining in the conflagration, and with American expressed or implied sympathy for their side, the industrial wheels began turning, first at half speed—due to our Neutrality Act—, reducing unemployment to about 10 million. Now that the Act has been repealed and the Embargo lifted, the war industry will most certainly attain its full capacity, paving the way for a sharper reduction, if not actually eliminating this "sore" on our domestic economy.

Now let us look at the President's latest budget placed before Congress:

Total expenditures, 8,424 millions; decrease 675 millions.
Normal receipts, 5,548 millions; increase 382 millions.
Excess capital of 700 millions to be recovered from government corporations and added to normal receipts.
Net deficit, 2,176 millions.
New taxes proposed, 460 millions, reducing net deficit to 1,716 millions.
National defense outlay, 1,800 millions; increase, 300 millions.
Work relief programs, 1,300 millions; decrease 500 millions.
Agricultural programs, 900 millions; dec. 400 millions.
Pensions, social security, etc., 1,200 millions; increase, 100 millions.
Public works and investments, 1,100 millions; decrease, 300 millions.
Public debt interest, 1,100 millions; increase 100 millions.
Regular operating expenses, 1,000 millions; unchanged.

In this manner President Roosevelt is attempting to "solve" the acute economic problem. Reducing every avenue of relief and at the same time increasing every avenue of armaments — thereby bringing us nearer and nearer into the abyss of war.

Thus, we are treated to a new era of prosperity; a period of "cannon Boom" that will increase production, reduce unemployment, raise the scale of wages and swell the bank accounts of the corporations. Good times are ahead for all, just so long as brother will eat brother on the battlefields of Europe (it might be mentioned here that the Asiatic war was merely a drop in a bucket...). Again scientific economy has proven its worth; the law of "supply and demand" has rushed in where reason fears to tread...

What will follow after the false prosperity is terminated by a conclusion of peace in Europe can very

well be imagined by all concerned. The rearmament program caused by a sudden "cannon boom," which started off the munition industry in almost every country of Europe and America, will be halted as soon as the war in Europe is ended. We shall then witness a new panic that will send our "scientific economy" crashing down the stone pile, with the hungry masses again looking for a dole and Big Business again sitting pretty on the dividends they will have shared from the "orphan babies" (stock certificates) left stranded by the war, while hoping that a new war will break out somewhere on the globe to again save its accumulated capital from ruin.

But the lesson we can derive from this trumped up prosperity is very enlightening, indeed. In effect, it winds up to this: that the existing economic order, capitalist or totalitarian, must forever cast envious eyes to periodic "booms" such as are brought about by warring nations. Germany has solved its economic problem by unleashing an armament program in preparation for a coming war with her neighbor nations. Italy has managed to keep aloof with her vast armament industry and military exploits in foreign lands. Soviet Russia has kept her "hammer and sickle" busy fitting out a gigantic army with arms for a coming struggle with Japan or some European nation. England and France solved their unemployment problem by rearming against the threats of Germany. And now the armament boom has reached our shores, resulting as already pointed out, in a new artificial recovery, which is gradually shaping itself in a new prosperity.

In other words, from latest developments in the economic situation of the world, one may reasonably conclude that Big Business, whether controlled by state capitalism or capitalist state, will reap its share of profit in prosperous as well as in panicky times. It is the great majority of underprivileged who bear the brunt of economic stress at all times and must therefore look to war and bloodshed as a means of being provided with economic security.

There is the irony of the whole situation. First, the hungry masses suffer dire need under economic oppression; then their suffering is alleviated by a living wage derived from producing armaments and explosives that slaughter their class brothers—if not their own kin.

Will these masses ever be competent enough to visualize the atrocity of this economic system? Will they ever realize how brutally they are being exploited both in peace and in war? They have not until now. But this brutal murder now pervading the European continent, this barbaric slaughter that sends thousands upon thousands of human beings to their graves on land and sea, ought to awaken their senses. They ought to realize once and for all that this system of profit sharing from human misery is inhuman, barbaric and serves only to keep them in bondage by periodic swings from depression to prosperity and back, such as we are witnessing today.

If they ever come to this realization, they shall demand a fundamental change in the entire economic structure of society. They shall proclaim a social order based on peaceful security through social and economic justice for all people and at all times, without being ever again dependent on wartime prosperity.

Samuel POLINOV.

WORLD CRUSADE AGAINST WHOM?

1940:—President Roosevelt approves loan to Finland... assures volunteers to Finland that they will not lose their American citizenship... confers with army chiefs to obtain arms for Finland... dispatches Assistant Secretary of State Welles to confer secretly with Mussolini, Chamberlain, Daladier and Hitler on peace... delivers open attack on Russia before Youth delegates, as the latter jeer at him...

1936-1939:—President Roosevelt invokes embargo forbidding sale of arms to Spanish people... resulting in the slaughter of two million men, women and children—as fascist hordes triumph.

In face of these glaring facts will the people throughout the world allow themselves to be misled into war?...

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN "OUR GREAT DEMOCRACY"

16 KILLED IN 1939 LABOR STRUGGLES

Sixteen unionists were killed in labor's front line trenches during 1939. Five strikers were killed in Harlan County, Ky., during the coal strike and one was slain by a deputy sheriff. The victims were Daniel Noe, Bradley Simpson, Frank Bryant, Bill Roberts, Dock Caldwell and Beecher Turner. Paul Hicks and Charles Anderson, members of the Dairy Farmers' union, were killed during the milk strike. Emil Bergstrom was killed in Minneapolis during a clash between police and WPA strikers and Eric Hessler of Chicago's Farm Implement Workers was slain just before an important election.

Others who lost their lives in labor struggles were: John Charlton, packinghouse worker, Des Moines; John Abrahamson, miner, Zanesville, Ohio; Mrs. J. B. Treadway, cannery worker, Violet, La.; Dan Bishop, Tupelo, Miss., killed resisting eviction, and Paul Pietrozowski, Chicago printer, and John Sasso, Newark teamsters' organizer, who were slain under mysterious circumstances.

—"Industrial Worker"

THE KLAN BACK TO LIFE

Charging that "city police are either unable or unwilling to enforce the law" in Anderson, S. C., the Workers' Defense League has called upon the Department of Justice to investigate recent outrages by the Klu Klux Klan in the South Carolina City. In a letter to Henry Schweinhaut, director of the Justice department's civil liberties division, David Clendenin, WDL secretary, asserted that a police patrol car stood idly by while a mob of masked Klansmen kidnapped and flogged two Anderson men. Clendenin's letter cited the case of Lamer Pruitt, 27-year-old mechanic, whose home was invaded by Klansmen about midnight Dec. 27. He was slugged with a revolver or blackjack, forced into a car, driven to a secluded spot near Emerson's bridge and flogged with a leather strap. Pruitt's flogging followed a similar attack on R. O. Mitchell.

—"The Call"

VIGILANTES IN ABERDEEN, Wash.

The Department of Justice has ordered a complete investigation of the murder of the wife of a C. I. O. official and of other outrages in Aberdeen, Washington, the American Civil Liberties has just been informed by Henry Schweinhaut, head of the Civil Liberties Unit of the Department of Justice. The A. C. L. U. in response to an appeal by the Portland Industrial Union Council, called upon the Attorney General's office for prompt investigation and prosecution of those responsible for the anti-labor reign of terror in Aberdeen in recent weeks.

According to a telegram from John Caglan, of the Seattle Civil Liberties Committee, to the national office of the A. C. L. U., Mrs. Dick Law, wife of an organizer for the International Woodworkers of America was stabbed seven times and had her skull fractured when her murderers ransacked the Law home in search of information "linking the recent vigilante attack on the Finnish Workers Hall with the Better Business Builders and high local public officials."

"Law enforcement and official agencies have acquiesced in and approved recent vigilante terror, and are now engaged in an open attempt to pin the murder on Dick Law," wired Caglan.

—"American Civil Liberties Union Bulletin."

THE WPA PERSECUTION

Twenty four noted figures in the labor, liberal and legal worlds, have joined in an appeal to President Roosevelt, asking him to "direct the department of justice to cease such un-American practices" as evidenced in the letter in the prosecution and conviction of WPA strikers in Minneapolis recently.

The letter assailed the Minneapolis proceedings as seeming "subversive of the true interests of justice and opposed to the letter and spirit of constitutional guarantees for a fair trial."

It is said that the "conspiracy to violate the relief act" clause, under which the strikers had been indicted, had not been intended by congress to "be used against organized labor" and declared that "it is inimical to our democracy that striking workers, engaged in peaceful picketing, are prosecuted under a federal statute which was never intended to apply to such conduct and tried en masse, thus being refused a fair trial."

"The insistence of the prosecution," the letter said, "upon mass trials of as many as 25 persons at one time (a process more suited to the mockery than the respect of the law) is prejudicial against the defendants." It asked the president to direct the department of justice to "recognize as its responsibility not only the conviction of violators of our laws but the safeguarding of constitutional guarantees which today stand as proof of the democratic way of life."

Other signatories of the letter are:

Harry Elmer Barnes, the historian; Alfred Bingham, editor of "Common Sense"; J. R. Butler, president of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union; Prof. George S. Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFL); Mary Fox, executive secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy; John C. Granbery, editor of the Georgetown, Tex., "Emancipator"; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL); Dave Reed, district president of the Progressive Miners of America (AFL), and Morris Shapiro, national counsel to the Workers' Defense League.

Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee; Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Arthur Garfield Hays and John F. Finerty, lawyers; Upton Sinclair, Freda Kirchwey, editor of "The Nation"; Paul Kellog, editor of the "Survey Graphic," Harry W. Laidler, Joseph Schlosberg, Ashley L. Totten, Judge Joseph A. Padway, James B. Carey and Norman Thomas.

—"THE CALL"

FOUR NEGROES' LIVES UP TO COURT

Out of the south last week came the counterpart of the Scottsboro case, when the United States supreme court heard arguments on the appeal of four Negro youths charged with killing a fish peddler at Pompano, Fla.

The pattern of the case is terribly familiar. A man is killed, four Negro boys are picked up, beaten, tortured, forced to "confess," placed on trial and convicted.

Four times Izell Chambers, Jack Williamson, Charlie Davis and Walter Woodard were snatched from the electric chair on four reversals won from the Florida supreme court by S. D. McGill of Jacksonville, Fla. On the fifth hearing the high tribunal upheld the death sentence of the lower court, but with a sharp dissenting decision by Justice Brown. It was then that McGill secured the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and carried the case to the U. S. supreme court.

—"The Call."

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN CALIFORNIA

We won't undertake a review of the recent amazing San Francisco hearings of the LaFollette Committee, which were marked by thorough preparation and an opportunity for all involved to be heard (qualities so lacking in the Dies Committee hearings), but we do want to make clear who the red-baiting, vigilante Associated Farmers really are. Talk about the Communists "boring from within," using the Trojan horse method of gaining control, and setting up innocent groups and front organizations, we would say that big business has out-Communized the Communists.

The record shows that the State Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco Industrial Association, Southern Californians, Inc., Pacific Gas and Electric Co., oil companies, railroads, sugar companies, cannerys and other giant corporations established and maintained the Associated Farmers to serve their interests. There is no community of interest between farmers and such groups. That's why the organization concealed the nature of its support and hoodwinked legitimate farmers.

The name of this group should be the "Montgomery Street Farmers," for Montgomery Street in San Francisco is reputed to be the Wall Street of the West. Quite appropriately, too, they have their headquarters in the Russ Building on that street.

* From May 1, 1934, when the Montgomery Street Farmers organized, to October 31, 1939, their contributions totaled \$178,542.91.

The 1934 contributions were as follows:

Cannerys' League of California, \$2,000; Rosenberg Brothers & Co., \$2,406.75; Dried Fruit Association, \$93.25; Pacific Gas and Electric Company, \$1,260; Associated Oil, \$332.50; Standard Oil, \$650; Texas Company, \$151.50; Union Oil, \$338.50; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, \$1,500; Southern Pacific, \$2500; Union Pacific, \$600; Western Pacific, \$400; intercoastal shipping, none (explained because of the strike situation); American Trust Company, \$250; Anglo California Bank, \$250; Bank of California, \$250; Crocker Bank, \$250; general industries, none; American Can Company \$1300; Continental Can, \$600; Fireboard Products, \$500; Longview Fibre Company, \$100; Pacific Can Company, \$100; California and Hawaiian Sugar Corporation, \$500; Holly Sugar Company, \$500; Spreckels Investment Company, \$500; John F. Forbes, \$10,000.

From all other sources contributions the first year were only \$432.25. Maybe some legitimate farmers were duped into giving that comparatively small amount.

The ten largest contributors to the Montgomery Street Farmers since its inception in 1934, are as follows:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, \$5,175; Cannerys League of California, \$13,700; Dried Fruit Associations, \$12,500; Forbes, John F. Industrial Association of San Francisco, \$15,400; Holly Sugar Corporation, \$3,800; Pacific Gas and Electric Company, \$4,375; San Joaquin Cotton Oil Company, \$3,866.51; Southern Californians, Inc., \$6,500; Southern Pacific Company, \$8,825; Spreckels Investment Company, \$3,800.

—"American Civil Liberties Union News"

* * *

The La Follette U. S. Senate Committee on Civil Liberties has had several busy days in Los Angeles, and they have found plenty of bad practices to uncover.

First among the anti-labor organizations to undergo a grilling at the open hearings, conducted here in the Post Office Building last week, was the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Several witnesses among the officials of that association were called upon to testify, including Fred R. Fysh, general manager of the M & M since 1936, and previously assistant manager for several years. He stated that 1200 business concerns were affiliated now with the M. & M. This association was formed away back in 1896, with the avowed purpose of promoting the open-shop policy in this city. The testimony brought out the fact that it has been af-

filiated with national open-shop organizations such as the National Industrial Council, and that from 1933 to 1938 a total of \$598,000 was raised and spent by the association to prevent the unionization of workers.

Captain William F. Hynes, formerly head of the notorious Los Angeles Red Squad, and several other police officers were put under oath to tell the committee what they knew about happenings during strike situations here in recent years. Hynes admitted that \$146,000 was collected from employers during the 1936 shipping strike at the harbor to provide meals, transportation and shelter for policemen who were on duty during that memorable conflict. He said that some of the unions also had contributed to the same end. When pressed for an opinion as to what he thought about the advisability of such private contributions toward police support, he finally confessed that he did not think it was good policy as it naturally biased the cops toward one side or the other in accordance with the money contributed for their support.

In another instance—the case of the garment workers' strike in 1936—Hynes said that \$769.50 was turned over to him to provide lunches and dinners for police who were watching the picket line.

General Glassford told the Committee about the vicious attacks made upon Attorneys A. L. Wirin, Grover Johnson, Wilmer Breeden and Ernest Besig while they were in the Imperial Valley on official business. He gave the Committee such an intimate picture of the reign of terror, which was produced in Imperial Valley by the combined efforts of lawless officials and bands of vigilantes, that when he had finished no one present could doubt that that area was in a grip of terrorism which practically abrogated all civil rights of those who sought to aid the workers in their struggles to obtain a decent wage and wholesome living conditions.

Dr. Taft also filed an affidavit with the Committee, setting forth the facts as to the attack made upon him personally in the sheriff's office at El Centro in 1930 by Sheriff Charles L. Gillette, when he made the remark that the Sheriff had no right to grab labor organizers and throw them into jail for simply coming into the Valley and attempting to set up workers' unions.

District Attorney Heald came in for a severe grilling by Senator La Follette because nobody had been prosecuted for the many kidnappings and beatings of attorneys and labor union organizers, and for the breaking up of peaceful public meetings and the murder of two union labor men during a shed-workers' strike in 1935.

Since the inception of the Southern Californians, Inc. in 1937, Senator La Follette showed by several exhibits which his staff had prepared, that the total receipts of the organization amounted to \$523,325. Many large donors among business men were read off, and the Chamber of Commerce itself was admitted to have contributed \$56,000 toward the sum given. Besides The Neutral Thousands, the Associated Farmers and other groups working against the unionization of workers had received large contributions from the Southern Californians, Inc.

Some of the witnesses who appeared before the Committee declared that files of the T. N. T. had been tampered with after they had been subpoenaed by the La Follette Committee. Clay C. Rittenhouse testified that he and G. L. Huff, former employees of the T. N. T., had been ordered by their superiors to destroy certain incriminating documents in these files and to substitute for them re-written papers.

One startling revelation brought out during the inquiry was that the Associated Farmers had enjoyed rent-free quarters in a county building, and that one half of their secretary's time had been paid for by the county. So, at the close of this day's investigation, there seemed to be a fairly well demonstrated close relationship between public officials in the Imperial Valley and certain organizations which have vigorously opposed the unionization of workers and the securing of fair wages and decent living conditions for those who toil in that below-sea-level area, under a broiling sun most of the year, for their sustenance.

—"The Open Forum"

U.S. Getting Ready to Fight-- Whom?

Have a look at the following history of army and navy appropriations in the last eight budgets (of the Roosevelt administration):

1933-34	\$540,356,000
1934-35	729,931,000
1935-36	921,684,000
1936-37	935,114,000
1937-38	1,119,810,000
1938-39	1,027,841,000
1939-40	1,734,342,253
1940-41	2,116,169,000

Whom are we going to fight? And about what? . . . The war preparations are . . . to fight in Asia against Japan.

Do the American people want to fight a war in Asia for any reason that is visible now? If we have a war in Asia it will be for one reason. There will be the usual bunk about civilization and democracy. But the real reason will be trade—trade for a few dozen large corporations. Do the American people want to fight a war in the Orient about trade? Well, that is what they are being prepared to do . . . And are the liberals going to cheer while this is put over on them?

--John T. Flynn in "The New Republic" of June 22, 1940.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis: A Minister Who Turned Anarchist

"De Vrije Socialist": Sociaal Anarchistisch Orgaan (The Free Socialist: Social Anarchist Organ) is regularly published twice a week. The Dutch comrades who put it out have their own printing press and the necessary material to give out several other publications.

Now that the anarchist agitation has been put down in Spain, there are no other countries in the world where weekly libertarian papers appear regularly. And furthermore, there are no libertarian works of importance published in any part of the globe, that are not translated and spread among Holland's population by our Dutch comrades. The article that follows is part of an editorial appearing in "De Vrije Socialist" (founded by F. Domela Nieuwenhuis) upon the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Nieuwenhuis' death.—Jules Scarceriaux.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis was the great high-spirited advocate of anarchism: The teacher, counselor and living example of zeal, devotion and unbridled militancy. And instead of mourning over his death, we must rejoice that he lived.

What was Nieuwenhuis' attitude towards the masses, the workers, those who, having only their labor-power, are compelled to be the slaves of others? What did he do for those who, from early childhood, are forced to bend upon the soil and die like old horses without ever having known the meaning of comfort and happiness? He carried the enlightened flambeau in the dark corners of the kingdom of ignorance and wretchedness.

Though born of wealthy parents, Nieuwenhuis, even in his youth, was concerned with the workers' lot. What was in him? What inspired him? What caused his thoughts to be attracted by the oppressed, by those whose rights are always trampled upon? Why was he tirelessly active in agitating among the masses and remaining at the head of the agitation for so many years?

Well, in his younger days, Nieuwenhuis was a Minister of the Gospel. But soon he could no longer preach, for his faith left him. He then gave up the Ministry. In his first pamphlet, "My Departure from the Church", written in 1885, he told the Dutch people why he could no longer believe in religion.

When free from the Church and belief, Nieuwenhuis felt other duties to fulfill. No longer willing to make the poor and faithful trust in a future of eternal happiness, he turned towards "Heaven on Earth" taught by the pioneers of socialism. Nieuwenhuis gained a new faith, the belief in the liberation of mankind; he felt himself duty-bound to enlighten men to the possibility of being free and happy. He became the edifier of the Social-Democratic party. For four years he was their representative in Parliament. But he soon realized that the workers had nothing to expect from any government. Through bitter experience he had already come to the conclusion that nothing could be gained by parliamentary tactics, though seven-eighths of the workers' material power and moral strength were wasted in political striving. He found that all workers' representatives had shamefully betrayed the cause of the masses. Had he not seen Millerand in France, Vandervelde in Belgium, MacDonald in England, Ebert in Germany? Even through a microscope you cannot discover a dissimilarity between a bourgeois and a so-called socialist government. During his few years among the politicians, Nieuwenhuis saw the futility of parliamentary efforts, gave up politics and, with a broader view, lent himself to the propaganda for the life and death struggle against the State and Capitalism.

That was quite a step! Indeed, he found out how troublesome were strife and propaganda. For him there was no more hunkering, no more throwing the workers in hysterical madness in order to gain officialdom in city or country.

HOPE

A child sees a beautiful butterfly, benumbed by the north wind, set upon the end of a blade of grass. The child picks up the blade of grass and the living flower at the end rendered torpid never moved. The child walks home holding its precious thing in its hand. A sunray comes out, strikes the butterfly's wings and suddenly, revived and light, the living flower flies away in the light. All of us, searchers and workers, are like this butterfly. Our strength lays in a ray of light only; —not even in that, but from the hope of a ray of light. And therefore we have to know how to hope: hope is the force that carries us higher and further!

But that's an illusion!

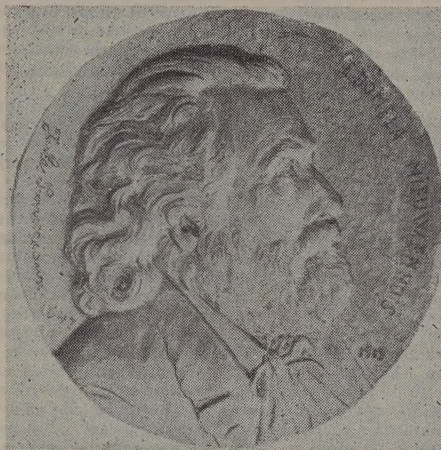
What do you know about it? We have not only to look far into the future or into the past: we must look into ourselves, see the vital forces which demand to be expent and then act accordingly.

M. GUYAU

(Esquisse d'une morale sans obligation ni sanction).

(Contributed by the "Book-Friendship Circle").

First Nieuwenhuis was slandered, insulted, scoffed at, mistreated by the royalists. Then, the authorities smouldered him in jail for six months because of an article in the "Recht voor Allen" written by



F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS (1847-1919)

—From a Plaque of Jules Scarceriaux

somebody else. A stupid and cruel song ridiculing him ran all over the country. And even the socialist workers turned against him.

But Nieuwenhuis went on courageously and undisturbed. His paper "Right for All" took the name of "De Vrije Socialist," and as its editor he worked twenty-five years for the ideal of Anarchy. The Anarchy which for us workers means:

Free combative organizations for the betterment of our welfare in this society.

Through the development and revolutionizing of our brain, the struggle for a society without a State in which all men working in free federated associations shall regulate the life of society.

Nieuwenhuis naturally saw the position of the pillars of society. He grasped the fact that the masses were kept in subjection by lies and violence. He fought both evils. He was the tireless propagandist of atheism. He scientifically combatted religion, that

great misleading philosophy—in such a way as to be understood by the average worker.

He was the founder of the International Antimilitarist movement; he fought militarism as the great institute of violence which hand in hand with religion keeps the masses in misery and slavery.

What was the remuneration of Nieuwenhuis for his struggle and work? He died at the age of 72, worn out by too much activity. He had written stacks of books and pamphlets for distribution among the Dutch workers. Besides, there were his journalistic works: his writing to newspapers, magazines, yearly publications, etc., and his lectures which he made at the rate of over a hundred per year.

Ceaselessly this man worked . . . when seventy years old the shaking of his right hand interfered with his writing . . . that was nature's penalty for his excess of labor.

Once more, what was his remuneration?

He threw himself, when very wealthy, into the workers' agitation, and a few years before he died he had to be financially supported by his comrades!

He never aimed at high positions or posts of honor. Had he not refused to work along the line of the political law-makers? Had he accepted their game, he could have been . . . the president of the League of Nations.

Nieuwenhuis did not wish anything of the kind; he merely wanted to free mankind from its fetters and shackles. He lived and fought for that alone. His motto in life runs like the Latin proverb: "Let me sink, so long as I have been useful."

From you, readers, Nieuwenhuis only wished that you weigh the importance of his ideas. And that is what we, too, ask of you. This man, in everything he did, deserves that you analyze and reflect upon the ways and means he advocated to lengthen and beautify life which is so often trying, hard and sunless. Everyone of you is indebted to him to that extent.

Again, we say that the cause of all suffering and misery lies in slavery under its numerous forms. Nieuwenhuis showed you the road to freedom. He did not compel you to follow a certain path as the social-democrats and so-called communists wish you to do; he knew that any compulsion can only lead to the worst slavery. He simply asked that you think the matter over: that which he advocated as the right and just solution of our problems.

Gerhard RIJNDERS

BROWDER'S CONVICTION

Earl Browder, present chieftain of the Communist Party, has been tried, convicted and sentenced to four years' imprisonment on the technical charge of having given false information on an application for a passport. The charge was substantiated by the proven accusation that Browder, at various times, had traveled to Russia using passports issued in the names of other people. Other communists are under similar charges.

Mr. Browder admitted using the false passports but justified his actions with the statement that in doing so he was protecting his life from political enemies. The reason is plausible. It is also plausible that, as he claims, Mr. Browder is being prosecuted for his opposition to the Roosevelt administration's war policies which are at work trying to drag this country into a war on the side of the Allies. The charge of falsification may very well be incidental.

In spite of all the evident signs of persecution—or shall we say retaliation?—it seems that very few people outside the communist fold are going to rally to the defense of Mr. Browder. The contrary would have been expected under clearer and more sincere circumstances. Should Mr. Browder care to commune with his own conscience, it would not be difficult for him to find out the cause of this lamentable state of affairs.

Only yesterday, Mr. Browder and his party were hailing President Roosevelt as a modern Lincoln, a sort of new Messiah for the downtrodden people. Mr. Roosevelt was the Saviour of world democracy. The communists wholeheartedly supported the administration's military policy of "collective security". They were ready to die in a world war which would be a crusade against Fascism and Nazism led by such "reputable" politicians as Mr. Daladier and Mr. Chamberlain. One fine day in August, 1939, however, the Bolshevik government signed a pact with Nazi Germany, followed by an agreement to partition Poland with the latter, and the communists had to turn about their policies and forget all about their crusade for democracy. Later came the invasion of Finland.

The Russ-German Pact and the invasion of Poland and Finland meant the moral suicide of Bolshevism all over the world. If people like Mr. Browder, if the communists in general had been free and independent thinkers rather than chatterboxes at the service of the Russian Government, they would have hastened to repudiate and denounce the Bolshevik in-

trigues and misdeeds. Thus, they could have saved their faces and possibly retain the confidence of their sympathizers. Such a stand might have brought about a change in the ruthless policies of the communist rulers of Russia. Browder and his ilk remained trodding the path of servility and have lost whatever support they had outside of their own circle.

The politicians of the Roosevelt administration are taking advantage of this sad mess and are repaying the support and acclaim of the communists with persecution. It is all in the game of politics. The Marxian Socialists have been schooled for this game, and the communists may thank the shades of Karl Marx and Nicolai Lenin for their predicament.

Regardless of the communist's insincerity, we nevertheless raise our protest against the conviction of Browder, knowing only too well that the authorities will not be too reluctant to apply any similar flimsy pretext in order to silence even the consistently sincere elements who are now raising their voices against the Roosevelt administration's attempt to drag us into the imperialistic war now raging abroad.

Miners Can Stop Disasters

The mine disaster of last month at Bartley, W. Va., brings to the fore once more the criminal negligence of mine operators, government inspectors and union officials. These gentlemen show little concern for the lives of the miners which they seem to value very little.

For this recurrence of mine disasters, Mr. John Lewis puts the blame on Congress for failing to enact legislation which would prevent tragedies of this kind. The mine operators, on the other hand, are satisfied with blaming fate. In reality, it is the old game of passing the buck.

Perhaps, the first step in the right direction has been taken by the miners of Illinois who threaten to go on strike unless the operators stop the practice of "shooting" coal while miners are working the pits. It is really up to the miners themselves to stop the mine tragedies. Only when the miners will carry out their threat of not working in any mine which entails the least danger for their lives, disasters will be checked. If this last tragedy of West Virginia will spur the miners into action for the protection of their lives, then the 92 dead of Bartley will not have died in vain.

M. G.

THE DIES COMMITTEE

Marcus Graham

In the political history of this country we have had Congressional Committees motivated by cleaner and more sincere objectives than those which motivate the notorious Dies Committee. None of those committees, however, has ever received even a centesimal fraction of the publicity our "free press" has been lavishing upon the Dies Committee.

Putting aside past experience, we can profitably make a striking comparison between the Dies Committee and the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. The latter has been unearthing damning evidence showing the close connection between various agencies of government and the private repressive organizations set up by the capitalist exploiters of labor. Testimony on the record of the La Follette Committee shows that in order to thwart any attempt on the part of the workers to better their economic conditions, industrial and agricultural concerns have employed spies and stool pigeons, have blacklisted active workers and have resorted to all kinds of open and underhand persecution. These reactionary exploiters have stored up large quantities of ammunitions and, with the cooperation of spies, gangsters, police and soldiers, they have used them to shoot down striking workers. This committee's investigations have shown that the employers have bought that complicity of law officers to suppress and abridge freedom of speech, press and assembly for the workers. Astounding revelations of this nature have been placed in the record of the La Follette Committee, but our "impartial" press has printed almost none of them. In fact, the little it has chosen to print very often has been distorted.

As an illustrative example of the suppression resorted to by the daily press, the reader is asked to turn to page 2 where reports of hearings recently held in San Francisco and Los Angeles by the La Follette Committee are given. These detailed reports of both cities didn't appear in the daily press, but in civil liberty union organs.

One is bound to wonder about the different treatment accorded the two Congressional Committees on the matter of publicity. But the cause of this patent discrimination can be found in the very essence of the work of the two committees. The La Follette Committee, even though it might have been prompted by political expediency, has been exposing reactionary intrigues and machinations prejudicial to the sanctimonious respectability of a decaying system of exploitation. The Dies Committee started with a witch-hunting fervor for the purpose of smearing and persecuting every individual and every organization even mildly concerned with the principles of justice and freedom. It has been subservient to political speculation and has indulged in an hysterical campaign of vituperation and incitement against minority political groups, labor unions and organizations and consumers' cooperatives.

Naturally, our proud and self-assured press, being as free and impartial as we all know it NOT to be, had to show its faithful attachment to the hand that feeds it by heaping publicity upon one committee and, at the same time, almost ignoring the work of the other.

* * *

The Dies Committee, in order to disguise its real reactionary aims, set out, from its early beginning, to impress upon the country at large the unjustifiable idea that we are threatened by a communist menace. It summoned Earl Browder, Wm. Z. Foster and other less known characters in the Communist Party to testify about their political activities and those of the party. All these cheap politicians hastened to patter about their political beliefs and activities, poorly attempting to cloak them with affected patriotism and americanism, without a single one having the manly courage and self-respect to refuse to be a part of this grand circus performance.

An even more shameful spectacle was offered by the appearance of the ex-communists before the Committee headed by Barnum Dies of Texas. Their testimony, while an abominable piece of treachery against their comrades of yesterday, is at the same time revealing of the low depths to which a political party—regardless of its hue—must fall in order to put up a front of influence in the course of its machinations in the quest for power. Some of this testi-

mony is worth reviewing for the sake of the record.

Benjamin Gitlow, former General Secretary of the Communist Party in the United States and twice its candidate for vice-President, testified that the party's activities have been subsidized by the Bolshevik government since they began in 1919. In the beginning, diamonds and jewelry were sent here to be turned into cash. Later the subventions were made in cold cash amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars a year.

Maurice L. Malkin, an ex-charter member of the party testified that the C. P. controlled the Furriers' Union and that during this organization's strike in 1926 it paid \$110,000 in bribes and protection money to the police force of New York City.

Fred Beal, Joseph Zack and a number of other former shining stars of the C. P. appeared before the Dies Committee and related their tales of corruption within the party in this country and their accounts of suppression and persecution in Russia. Jay Lovestone also appeared as an involuntary witness. Leon Trotsky, from his refuge and his seat of infallibility, volunteered to appear as a witness if the United States government would grant him a temporary entry. The "Socialist Appeal" (Dec. 16, 1938) tried to justify Trotsky's unwarranted offer to testify with a jesuitic distinction between the testimony of "ex-revolutionaries" and that of "a revolutionary." But, in reality, it was a glorious merry-go-round of shame, debasement and poltroonery.

For the facility with which its former idols turn into loathsome informers the C. P. can only blame itself. They are pupils educated at the party's school. And a school of corruption, greed and power can only produce cheats, renegades and tyrants.

* * *

It is true that in order to save appearances the Dies Committee paraded a few Bunders on its witness chair. However, no sensational revelations were elicited from these fascists, and their underhand work remained unexposed. Perhaps, the fact that no so long ago Chairman Dies posed with Fritz Kuhn at a Bund banquet and the fact that the avowed head of the black reactionaries—"father" Coughlin—was never summoned for an account of his activities proves that the Dies Committee is only witch hunting against the "radicals" while showing paternal indul-

gence for the fascist intriguers of this country. The Committee's servility to the cause of the capitalist reactionaries has been proved further by its attacks on the Consumer's Cooperatives of the country and the promptness with which the Hearst press published such attacks. In fact, Mr. Hearst has spared no space for the Dies Circus and its "findings."

On Jan. 3, 1940 the Congressional Committee investigating un-American activities submitted its "report" to Congress and started maneuvering for another appropriation which would permit its merry existence for another year. The report, so boorish and fantastic that it had to be expunged and re-written by the liberal minority within the committee, is a true indictment of the committee's work and practices. The Committee has failed to discover anything of a political nature that was not carried on in the light of the day, and all its cries of conspiracy and plotting have proven to be a lot of . . . wild cries. In the Committee's own words:

" . . . not over 1,000,000 people in the United States can be said to have been seriously affected by these essentially foreign or un-American activities."

The Committee might have died an ignominious death right at this point. The liberal minority within the Committee, however, made possible a UNANIMOUS REPORT which, in turn, made possible a new appropriation for the year 1940. Therefore, we shall have more witch hunting, more smearing and more red-baiting.

As these lines are being penned revelations are daily being made at Washington that can but leave no doubt as to the close alliance between the fascist elements of this country and the Dies Committee. "Silver Shirt" fascist leader William Dudley Pelley whom the Dies Committee could never locate turned up voluntarily in order to aid in giving the Committee a clean bill of health. Furthermore, on Tuesday, February 8, 1940, Mr. Pelley declared that his organization will disband since the Dies Committee is doing the work it has been formed for!

Political expediency and the democratic process deem it advisable to let loose the barking dogs of reaction and fascism. You never can foretell what the workers might suddenly start to do in times of war threats, economic and political distress.

The Case of Harry Bridges

Deportation charges against Harry Bridges have been dropped by the Department of Labor. According to Dean Landis' findings, testimony introduced at the hearings failed to prove that Bridges was either a communist or that he was affiliated with the Communist Party. Regardless of disagreement with Bridges' political and labor activities, lovers of justice and freedom will rejoice in the outcome of this famous trial—a trial which—conducted publicly for the first time in the history of deportation proceedings—showed to what extent Immigration agents can stoop in order to satisfy their and their masters' thirst for persecution.

Because of his position in the labor movement, his political backing and a \$50,000 defense fund, it was comparatively easy for Bridges to get an open hearing, a specially appointed trial examiner and a competent counsel. Under these circumstances a minimum of fairness and opportunity was afforded the defendant. That was good indeed.

However, we cannot help thinking of the hundreds of unknown workers who, because of their obscurity, have been and are being persecuted, prosecuted and banished from this country through the ordinary, inquisitorial and damnable procedure of the Immigration Department. No public trial is afforded these workers; they only get star chamber hearings. No special learned examiner is assigned to their cases; they are left at the mercy of a hardened boorish inspector devoid of all ethics of justice. No specially versed counsel is available for their defense; they hardly get the average attorney who has no familiarity with that monument of inextricability ordinarily referred to as the Immigration Laws. Under these very different circumstances, the obscure victims of persecution are easily deported or exiled through a saddening imposition of abuses, violations and perjuries.

Organized labor, momentarily awakened to the treacherous menace of deportation by the danger which confronted Harry Bridges, has returned to slumber. It has always slept in the past when its humble members have gone through the mill. Labor's awakening is inevitable, but the possibility that it might awaken too late is very discouraging.

I consider Europe but as a great madhouse, and in the present deranged state of their moral faculties to be pitied and avoided.

I am not for linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe, entering that field of slaughter to preserve their balance.

—Thomas JEFFERSON

Sebastien Faure

From Paris comes the news that Sebastien Faure has been arrested for "pacifism." Revolutionary and anarchist for more than sixty years, he is certainly opposed to the war of Chamberlain and Daladier, still this does not mean that he is a pacifist.

While men with doubtful consciences and weak characters take refuge under the protection of the Free Masonry, to save themselves from the pains inflicted upon men of conviction in time of trouble, Sebastien Faure, who was a Free Mason, withdrew from that organization in 1914 when they tried to force him into the belligerent "sacred union." And, against the imperialist war he made an energetic and intelligent propaganda among the socialists and syndicalists; a propaganda that brought him arrests and persecutions, but, which, on the other hand placed in evidence the firmness of his anarchist convictions.

When the new war broke out he was again at his post. And at the venerable age of 83 years, unshaken in faith, an example of character and courage for youth, shaming the spineless, but incarcerated by the Democracy that took arm against the dictatorship; certainly Faure was not arrested for moral, doctrinal or political complicity with Stalinist Communism which he has always vigorously fought, he is in jail because of his truthfulness to his ideal.

In his firm and fruitful attitude he has the affection of all anarchists.

"L'ADUNATA"

Jean Grave

Jean Grave died last December in a suburb of Paris at the age of 85. He had been one of the most active personalities of the French and international anarchist movement. His name was bound with "Le Révolté" and "Les Temps Nouveaux," two publications that had the best anarchist writers as collaborators and which for many years exercised a primordial influence upon the advanced movement.

Jean Grave was one of the Sixteen signers of the War-Manifesto that drew him away from the anarchist movement. And still long after the war he kept aloof from his former activity, for, being intransigent in character, he never would derogate from his conceptions.

"L'ADUNATA"

Man is man and we cannot give him a particle of authority without corrupting him.

—Peter KROPOTKIN

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: \$1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

SPAIN'S STRUGGLE IN THE LIGHT OF ANARCHISM

"Most of the time the FACTS are the field marshals of the lodgings and those who deliver them do nothing more than prepare the lodgement for the PRINCIPLES."

—VICTOR HUGO

Before entering into any argument in connection with the unfortunate happenings in Spain, I wish to quote the two following telegrams which, no doubt, speak for themselves.

- 1) "At Figueras the Republican soldiers have, before Franco nationalists could occupy the town, caused the explosion of all the stocks of war material and ammunition."
- 2) "It is announced that the anarchists at Port-Bou who prepared themselves to pass the French boundary were arrested by the famous 'communist' general Lister, who had them pass on before the army and executed."

("L'Oeuvre", Paris, February 9, 1939)

The second of these two telegrams is characteristic of the sham which comrade Michael Cohn called a "Social Revolution" and which some other comrades would like to have us call the civil war in Spain which annihilated Spain and cost the lives of more than two million people. I am sorry to have to state that as far as a social revolution in Spain was concerned, not even a semblance of it was to be found after the bloody May Days of 1937. I do not mean to infer that I agree in any way whatever with the form of social revolution which preceded the tragic May Days. For me it was the inevitable result brought about by that form of political and social revolution which sacrificed, greatly so, anarchism in favor of democracy and republicanism.

As far as the first of the two telegrams I quoted is concerned, I can say that it marked the end of a war which was a purely nationalistic-republican war and which implied a civil war in its extermination of Spanish anarchists and the terrorizing of the entire working population in Spain. Can a war with such clear-cut aspects as was the Spanish war be called a "social revolution"? And it was called such by many anarchists, including comrade Cohn.

Where did these comrades see a social revolution in Spain? I wonder.

Unfortunately, I do not see it. Rather, I see it inversely. What the anarchists of Figueras did could be termed as the first act of a real social revolution, in an anarchist sense, had the Spanish anarchists done this systematically against both sides—first, against the government, then against Franco if he succeeded in occupying all of Spain after July, 1936.

As paradoxically as it may sound, it is nevertheless true that the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists were the saviours of Franco.

By them giving up their own principles and becoming the rescuers of democracy and republicanism, it allowed them, for this costly bargain, to realize, economically and for the benefit of war, a so-called war—"anarchism". The big powers recognized what they were really up against: THAT IT WAS FOR FRANCO, AS ALSO FOR THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT, FIRST OF ALL A QUESTION OF THE EXTERMINATION OF THE ANARCHISTS . . .

Neither Baldwin, Chamberlain, nor Leon Blum (social-democrat) had any great interest of intervening against this procedure, which the Spanish anarchists, being blindfolded by pseudo-revolutionary, "united front" phraseology, did not comprehend. On the contrary, a non-intervention-committee against the intervention of Italy, Germany, and Portugal was founded, with the purpose of aiding and abetting Franco in his aim, which was in reality the very same aim of that sly mass-murderer of Spanish workers and anarchists long before 1936, Señor Azaña and his government.

The result of the anarchist self-sacrifice, in favour of democracy and republicanism, we see quite excellently clear today. The leading factors, the Azanos, Negrins, del Vayos, etc., have rescued their own . . . Franco rules supreme in Spain, and the former governmental side has reconciled itself to him. At the end we have nothing other than a "nationalist Spain" on both sides—after the ruin of a whole people, and the annihilation of the anarchist movement in Spain, physically and morally.

Thus the "social revolution"—one that was in league with the monster of war—in Spain has ended. For this, the anarchists and syndicalists there have sacrificed the lives of their best, and of the people.

Let our comrades ponder a little over the acts of our comrades in Figueras. If they are not coming after a war of defeat, but after a refusal to participate in any war or militarism of any government—then such acts constitute the elements of a real Social revolution. Such a one, in the case of Spain, ought to have been a systematic destruction of the means of warfare, that would have saved the lives of the people and shown to the world-rulers, that anarchists know how to act in the face of the state-planes of extermination of the populace . . . It would not only

NOTE: The following exposition is the first part of a reply to statements made by comrades Michael Cohn and Campio Carpio in connection with the recent Spanish tragedy. Although this reply was sent to us some time ago and notwithstanding the fact that comrade Cohn is now deceased, we feel that the assertions made by comrade Pierre Ramus are still timely. Rather, it is always timely to comment and reflect upon the Spanish situation, for it will be recorded and remembered by man for a long time to come.—EDITOR.

have rescued Spain, it would have done more for world-peace than all the fine "peace"-words of the army-profiters.

Only that revolution which saves the lives of the people can be termed social. A "revolution" that consists in casting the people into the pitfall of annihilation, demanded by government, is neither social nor a revolution. It must inevitably end for the people like the Spanish tragedy has now ended—with the defeat of the whole people, with the victory of some set of its exploiters, oppressors and all the powers that be . . .

SOME CATASTROPHICAL ERRORS

Were it not for the fact that I know the comrades Michael Cohn—it was he who was the chairman in that first meeting to which our unforgettable pioneer JOHN MOST sent me as a speaker, in the winter of 1900—and CAMPIO CARPIO, as very sincere and honourable comrades of long standing in our movement, I would hardly bother about their criticism against my polemical article regarding "The New Programme of the Spanish Anarchist Federation (FAI). But both are, undoubtedly, the two finest specimens representing diverse and antiquated points of view to which anarchism ever and anon falls a prey. In the interest of mankind and the labour movement, but above all the anarchist movement itself, it is time to rid ourselves of these errors, ruinous—as Spain proves it anew—to our cause and the international workers movement. It is for this reason that I feel myself prompted to answer them. It is my firm belief, that until our movement will be clarified, and well overcome all the notions and influences and factors, which bear the fullest responsibility for the catastrophic breakdown in Spain, anarchism will be incapable of performing its emancipatory mission for mankind, for the workers in particular.

* * *

In the war and post-war period, the following catastrophical errors have, in my humble opinion, played havoc with all the aims and means of Anarchism:

I). The outspoken alliance of some of the most brilliant spokesmen of Anarchism for one side or the other of the imperialistic powers in the first world war. From this pitfall, the international movement has regenerated itself quickly, as it offered a marvelous sign of strength, intelligence and independence of spirit—the movement dropped the erring, albeit much beloved and venerated, and otherwise venerable spokesmen, it could not be won over to their war-standpoint by them.

II). Much worse, in a certain sense, was the aberration which followed the war. Directly or indirectly, partly or wholly, temporarily or permanently, large sections of our movement, also spokesmen, allied themselves with Leninism or Trotskyism, if not with outspoken bolshevism, from 1917 downward till 1932. Even today this has not ceased entirely.

III). The subordination of anarchism to syndicalism.

IV). The Makhno-method, as an ally of rescue for bolshevism and its inevitable catastrophic breakdown in its anarchistic elements.

V). And now the greatest and newest breakdown of most horrible catastrophical dimensions, resulting from the alliance of the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists with the political antifascist parties. As a natural consequence thereof follow the support of war and the government.

All these catastrophical errors are rooted in the very same cause:

MANY ANARCHISTS DISREGARD THEIR SOLE GREAT TRUE PRINCIPLE WHEN IT COMES TO APPLYING IT TO PRACTICAL LIFE. This is mainly due to the lack of an analytical worked out method for the realization, and carrying through, of the Social Revolution, in contradistinction to the historically known forms of the political revolutions.

IS ANARCHISM REALIZABLE?

The reply of the comrades to my criticism upon the "New Programme of the FAI" is already therein abortive that none can claim that the elements, contained in the new programme, against which I polemise, are really anarchistic. Those who defend the FAI are trying to "explain" its errors, to extenuate, to apologise for them, but they cannot prove that unanarchistic theses are anarchistic.

As a matter of fact, therein we can, to some extent, agree. For me too, the FAI is an organization of very good comrades, with a great, sacrificing spirit. But like the adage says: "Platan is my friend, yet higher than friendship stands for me the truth"—namely, Anarchism. All I maintain is that the "new principles" of the FAI, as quoted by me, are NOT anarchistic.

But is this excusable for an old anarchistic organization with a great history? Is such a procedure practical as a "fight against fascism in Spain, if anarchism cannot be realized in toto"?

The end of the Civil and Nationalist war in Spain, the events of February, after the surrender of Catalonia to Franco, and those of March, have already given an ample answer to this question. They have proven that the surrender of principles has not brought about victory for the Republican side, but on the contrary, the defeat of all those very principles of so-called antifascism, for which the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists have given up anarchism.

In fact, at present there is only one vanquished party in Spain, namely the anarchist one. All others have cast aside the mask and shown that, as I always claimed, there is really no serious difference between both factions. They are now united as "true nationalists"—as "Spaniards", who want the same, what they always wanted: one side standing either for the economic capitalist interests of Italy and Germany (Franco), the other for the same interests of England, France, (Azaña, Negrin, etc.). And now these interests of both factions for whose dominance and profit the Spanish people was brought to shed its blood, sacrifice its life, and have its country totally devastated, are being reconciled. In the end the anarchists found themselves in greatest contradiction with their principles. Before the end came, they sided with another military dictatorship, that of Casado, Miaja, who, exactly like Franco and Negrin, have downed with tanks and aeroplanes all opposition against their usury of power. The anarchists combined with this new government because it promised to bring the war to an end, under the "most favourable" terms.

Lo and behold . . . After a general massacre of two million men, a terrible defeat in the war, suddenly they DO THE VERY THING which our comrades conceived as impossible before the huge sacrifice of human lives: They "lay down and die like sheep in the slaughter-house." "They turn their backs in betrayal of the Spanish people." "Will they not be butchered by the hundreds and thousands?"

And all this, because they have NOT been "decreasing their chance of a successful battle royal against a victorious Franco." What an absurdity for Ramus to state, to quote Cohn again: "First let Franco conquer Spain and then fight him!"

WELL, THIS GREAT "ABSURDITY" WAS DONE BY THE ANARCHISTS AND SYNDICALISTS IN LEAGUE WITH CASADO WHOSE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP THEY SUPPORTED IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AN "HONOURABLE PEACE."

It needed over two years and a half of the most horrible bloodshed of men, women and children, in order to make, in an absolutely anti-anarchist way, the Spanish anarchists grasp the comprehension of what they should have done after right after July 19, 1936 in an anarchist—revolutionary way, as anarchistically destructive antimilitarists. They would have been more successful now, I vouch them for it. Only history would tell of the name of Franco, etc. He would surely be no more . . . And the Spanish people would not have to suffer absolutely in vain, what, it must be said in truth, only the Spanish Anarchists and Syndicalists made possible. Because all other parties of political scheming against the people would have been unable to carry out their plans of butchering the people, if it had not been for the connivance of the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists who forgot their supreme principles.

An all this betrayal of one's own principles, because "anarchism cannot be realized in toto" (Cohn). Is this a fact?

In my essay on "Why does Anarchism make such slow progress?", in which I have really envisioned some of the coming events in Spain (knowing too well some of the sinister influences exercised by foreign "anarcho-syndicalist" personalities over the mostly one-languaged comrades in Spain, I state, that either we are reaching a social revolution which brings about the downfall of the state-institution—thus Anarchism—or NOTHING NEW will come. This, because nothing is superior to the present system, except Anarchism. Every "revolutionary" or reformistic quackery is worse; therefore in the long, terrible useless, bloody run, incapable of conquering the old, traditionalist forces.

The events in Spain have, in a most tragic fashion, illustrated the veracity of my conception.

It is not a fact that anarchism cannot be realized in toto. In no other country could it have been realized so easily as in Spain, having had an adherence

(Continued on Page Six)

BOOK REVIEW

Ammon A. Hennacy

INSIDE ASIA.—By John Gunther, Harpers, New York, 1938, \$3.00.

"The Japanese are forever committing acts of peace."

"The Chinese, I think, are the most intelligent people in the world."

"Mr. Gandhi, who is an incredible combination of Jesus Christ, Tammany Hall, and your father, is the greatest Indian since Buddha... Nowadays people are apt to assume that Mr. Gandhi is played out... Nothing could be further from the truth."

The six hundred pages resulting from the travels of Gunther in Asia in 1937-38 abound in hundreds of such statements which succinctly picture individuals and groups. An up-to-date map and the pleasing typography adds to the Gunther-color to make the reading of this book one of the best ways of understanding the complex problems of Asia.

To westerners Chinese and Japanese are lumped together as foreigners with little individuality who "all look alike." Gunther describes in detail many of the differences which make these peoples stand out each in their own light of background and of destiny. We see the peculiar divinity of the Japanese Emperor and the paradox of his being a god and a rubber stamp in the hands of a military clique. We know of the proven efficiency of the Japs in copying western methods of manufacturing when acting in groups; the author has shown us the pitiful inadequacy of the average Jap taken as an individual in comparison with the poise of the simplest Chinese peasant. We are also shown the lack of humor, the indirection, the inability to think straight on matters of ethics as is given in the Army Bulletin:

"The establishment of world peace is Japan's aim. No country in the world has so high a mission as Japan to save the world." This is on a par with the recent hypocrisy of Stalin in seeking an excuse for

the invasion of Finland. Gunther's opinion of present day Russia is not given in this book, but he states that he would like to revise some of his former opinions on Russia.

It has been the fashion in recent years of liberal minded and pacific minded Christians in this country to laud Kagawa as the super Christian who has followed Christ. Since the Japanese war on China Kagawa has been strangely silent. The author refers to him as one who bade fair to become a Japanese Gandhi until the war revealed him as a strong nationalist. This the Christians of America will be slow to believe, as they still like to point to one result of the many years of missionary effort spent in "converting the heathen." Seventy three years old Baron Hiranuma, the premier of Japan, is, like Molotov, Hitler, Mussolini and Gandhi a vegetarian, and like Gandhi devoting only four hours to sleep.

"Being rational—the Chinese are long-minded." Tolerance, "squeeze," "face", the Opium War when England in 1839 fought China to inflict opium upon her, the robbery of China by the French and English, Shanghai—the rich man's heaven where there are no taxes, the terrible poverty of the peasants—the author gives us a moving picture of China through the centuries telling of the time when "the best government was one no one ever heard about."

The intricacies of intrigue between members of the Soong family, Chiang, the Young Marshall, and the Communists is given in more or less accuracy, for it would seem very difficult for any one to get the exact truth midst the changing scene of Chinese politics. The former head of the Communist party in China is now a follower of Trotsky and the Chinese Youth Party is vaguely Trotskyist. The author seems to feel that it is impossible for Japan to conquer China as it is impossible for China to beat off Japan entirely.

Very few Americans have a clear view of the complexity of the problem which faces Gandhi in uniting the people of the five hundred and sixty two na-

tive states of India and of eleven provinces of British India into united action against the tyranny of the petty despots and that of British imperialism. The story of Gandhi's conversion from a prosperous lawyer in South Africa to the leader he is today through a study of Thoreau, Ruskin and Tolstoy, and of the establishing of Tolstoy Farm in South Africa—which continues today in the hands of his second son—is given. The author praises the wit of Gandhi, who when asked his opinion about Miss Mayo's Mother India stated, "It is a book which no European and every Indian should read." Gunther feels that Gandhi's sense of proportion is off-balance and cites the time when he kept Lord Irwin waiting a day when the treaty which they were to sign hung in the balance—all because a policeman had sequestered the cow of a peasant. Gandhi would not continue until he had returned the cow to its owner. Perhaps, in this land where ninety five percent of the people cannot read, news of this kind will spread over the country and secure the reputation of the great leader who understands how much one cow can mean to a peasant. Perhaps this is not "off-balance," but one of the secrets of Gandhi's hold upon the people.

Nehru, Patel, Maulana Azad, Prasad, Khan Gaffar Khan and Mrs. Naidu who have left private fortunes and reputations to follow Gandhi to prison are described in detail.

The author describes the division of India into castes, the hatreds between the Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, Sikhs and Jains; fostered by the British to keep them apart, and being overcome by Gandhi who now has one hundred thousand Moslems and the Akali Sikhs as sworn nonviolent followers. The unbelievable poverty existing in the 700,000 villages, the hovels in the sewers in Calcutta contrasted with the dividends of fifty to one hundred percent in the jute and steel mills—India becomes real before your eyes.

Smaller chapters are devoted to Persia, Arabia, Siam, Palestine and the Philippines with a picture of the interests of imperialism fighting for power.

Spain's Struggle

(Continued from Page Five)

(before the civil war) of organized masses of the most productive and decisive qualities, amounting to "one million and a half of Spanish anarchists and syndicalists." And if they could not carry through a social revolution (which I deny since I maintain, by a close reading of their literature for years, that they were not enlightened as to the ways and means of a real social revolution)—it does not follow that their organizations are entitled to place the force of a million and a half of adherents at the disposal of the enemies of anarchism, to which all Spanish republicans and bourgeois democrats, social democrats and bolshevik—"communists" belong.

All historians of the Great French Revolution in 1789, are agreed that France, having at that time a population of about that of Spain before the civil war, was overturned by a revolution which had behind its spirit and strength not more, rather less, than the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists had adherents. I personally, am convinced that a social revolution, if in its measures, no violent dictatorship is aimed at, can be carried through with a million productive individuals in any country of the world, regardless of the size of its population. A social revolution is bound, by the nature of things as they are, to start with a mass-minority, nothing in comparison to the amount of the whole population. But by its actions, it must gain the vast majority of the oppressed people, in its process of renewal upon the economic field, in its beneficial effects for the social life of the masses. By reintegrating all the unemployed into the strata of really socialized production, freed from all shamming of monopoly, the consumption for the whole of society based upon the principle: according to his and her needs, a social revolution—not the fraud that has called itself "revolution" since 1917, from October on—becomes invincible.

Whoever has followed up the Spanish anarchist and syndicalist movement since 1931 with the eyes of an anarchist, for whom Anarchism is not a dream, but a necessity for mankind—its only historical factor of rescue, will agree with me that our movement in Spain did not have any methodical conception of the Social Revolution, except in its slogan. I have not only now, after the most crushing defeat of the movement in Spain expressed this, but I have uttered this opinion in a very thorough dissertation, at the beginning of 1936, reviewing the years backwards till 1931. This article was published in MAN! (July, 1936), unfortunately just before the events which broke out in July 1936. Thereby its planned—by the Universal Federation of Anarchists—publication in Spain itself became impossible. It could no more exercise any influence over the trend of events. But all who remember my article will today be forced to corroborate its contentions as to the causes which have led to the great crucifixion of our Spanish movement since 1936. My article was meant as a warning, it has terribly correctly illustrated all the far-reaching effects which are bound to ensue when anarchists forget their anarchism.

(To be continued)

Pierre RAMUS

Science and the Bible

On October 31st, an advertisement appeared in the Herald-Tribune under Public Notices in which Rev. Dr. Harry Rimmer offered \$1,000 for a scientific error in the Bible. We submitted seven errors, and, receiving no answer, started suit through Joseph Wheelless, attorney. The case attracted considerable attention in the press; it will be tried in the Municipal Court, unless Dr. Rimmer and the Central Baptist Church, where he preached, sign a statement admitting that there are scientific errors in the Bible, in which event we will withdraw the suit.

We have compiled the following list of Biblical accounts that are contradicted by science, and will welcome suggestions for its improvement:

- Creation of the universe in six days about 4004 B. C.
- Control of the universe by an anthropomorphic God with 'head', 'hair', 'face', 'hands', 'shoulders', and 'back parts' who dwell in heaven but occasionally came down to earth.
- Creation of woman out of man's rib.
- Existence on earth of devils angels and cherubim with flaming swords.
- Noah's ark containing 38,000 animals and food for forty days, the polar bear from the arctic and sloth from the tropics arriving in time to be saved.
- The rainbow as a covenant against further floods.
- The Tower of Babel as responsible for the diversification of languages.
- Transformation of Lot's wife into salt, of a river into blood and water into wine.
- The Red Sea parting for the Israelites, the Jordan parting for Elisha.
- Israelites fed by manna and innumerable "quails from the sea."
- The camel not dividing the hoof; the coney and hare chewing the cud.
- Darkness for three days when Moses stretched out his hand; and for three hours at the crucifixion.
- The sun standing still for Joshua and the shadow turning back ten degrees on the dial for Isaiah.
- Jonah living in the belly of the whale; Balaam's ass speaking.
- "If a corn of wheat die, it bringeth forth much fruit."
- Existence of heaven and hell.
- "And the graves were opened; and many bodies of saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves."
- A new star appearing in the heavens to guide wise men to

a manger where a child was born.

The child being born of a virgin, though descended from David through his earthly father.

That this child, when grown, walked on the water, stilled the storm, cast out devils, cured blindness with spittle, fed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes, withered a fig tree by a curse, raised the dead.

Resurrection after death of the widow of Nain's son, the Shunammite's son, Lazarus, Jairus' daughter and another.

These inaccurate accounts can be located by reference to a concordance. If admitted to be allegorical rather than literal, the doctrines derived from them should be abandoned.

—William FLOYD in "The Arbitrator."

Education and Anarchism

Education is the planned effort of men to help nature develop their physical, intellectual and moral faculties; and so complete a development can only be achieved when educators, though free from dogmatic ideas, are convinced of the ill-omened influence of authority.

Authority? The most vital centers of education—the home, the school, and the factory where men come in contact with the realities of life, are all impregnated with authoritarian arbitrary power, the source of exploitation and corruption, a source which annihilates initiative and free individual development.

Again, "Obedience" being the general motto of the present educational system, the result inevitably brings about the breeding of masters and slaves; while where Freedom is the basis of education, men grow into intellectual maturity, free, able to live harmoniously in a free society, in a word, ripe to live in Anarchism.

Jules SCARCERIAUX

A Question to "The American Guardian"

We are glad to note that one of our exchanges, "The American Guardian" of Feb. 2, 1940, reprints from our pages the poem "War" by Marie Harlowe. Although crediting Miss Harlowe, it fails to mention "MAN!"—where it originally appeared.

On the very same page where the poem appears—another reprint is given, that of an article by a writer of the New York "Post". Credit is here given to both.

Shall we conclude then that the reason for "The American Guardian" failing to give credit to one and not to the other lies in the fact that the "Post" may sue them, whereas "MAN!", as an anarchist journal, would not do so?...

The less useful a book is the highest is its place on the shelf; and so it is in officialdom.

—ECHO DE PARIS

JUST PUBLISHED! "THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK"

(Twenty Years of Terror in Russia:
Data and Documents)

by G. P. Maximoff

624 Pages. \$3.50 Per Copy. To Groups \$2.50, Postpaid,
Send all orders to:

The Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund
2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois

JUSTICE

The Illinois Central Station was alive with workers streaming in and out of its subterranean mouth. A light snow fell, looking ghastly pale in the night.

Charles Ovesun ran down the steps into the station. He paused and looked around. Then turning, he entered the Soda-Lunch restaurant there, and seating himself at the counter, gave the fountain man his order.

As he gazed curiously around, a stranger came up to him and asked him for a match. He pulled out his matches and handed them to the fellow. The man lit his cigarette, offered Charlie one, and when he accepted, seated himself beside him. "It sure is nasty out . . ." he began.

Charlie nodded.

The man brushed aside some snow from Charlie's coat collar. "Are you from Chicago?" he asked. "No, I'm from Earlville, Illinois."

"I'm from a small town myself. Clinton, Indiana."

Charlie blinked as cigarette smoke got into his eyes.

The stranger leaned over. "Are you going home for Christmas?"

Charlie nodded. "I leave tomorrow." Throwing down his cigarette, he stepped on it as the fountain man brought him his order. A deep silence fell between the two while he ate.

Finished, Charlie wiped his hands and mouth with a paper napkin and looked askance at the stranger beside him. "Guess I gotta go," he mumbled. Rising, he made for the men's room. When he stranger had followed him in. He could feel the man's close presence all the while he was washing, but when he finished wiping his face and looked around, the stranger had disappeared. Instead he saw a heavy-set man standing in the doorway, scrutinizing him closely. Feeling vexed and uncomfortable under the man's persistent stare, he put on his hat and coat and made for the door. But when he got there, the man stopped him, displaying a police badge pinned inside his coat. Ordering him to raise his hands, the detective searched him.

"What's this?" the detective asked, holding up a slip of paper.

"Just the name and address of a friend of mine," Charlie replied.

"I see," the detective said, placing the paper in his own pocket, "well, come on."

Charlie pulled away. "Why? . . . What for? I haven't done anything!"

"Maybe not, but you're one of the guys we're looking for."

"What do you mean?" Charlie asked, bewildered.

"You'll find out soon enough," the detective replied, leading him away.

Outside a squad car waited ominously. There were two officers in the front seat. The detective pushed Charlie into the rear seat and then the squad car sped away. The car seemed to whirl around many corners before it finally turned into a dark driveway and stopped. Charlie couldn't see very much, except to be conscious that he was standing before a large building. The detective took him into this building, to the third floor, where he was booked and placed in a cell.

Left alone, he fell to brooding. He felt too nervous to sit still, so he walked back and forth. Then after a while he lay down, using his coat for a pillow.

When he awoke, he was stiff and sore. Everything still looked the same. He went to the bars and peered out into the corridor. He heard steps approaching; then there were the grunts of prisoners. Soon the keeper, a large man, approached his cell and handed him a thick baloney sandwich through the bars. He smelled it. It stank. He tried to eat it. He couldn't. He put it down on the bunk and commenced his impatient pacing.

Suddenly he stopped. He could hear steps approaching. It was the keeper again, but with a big bunch of keys this time. He inserted one in the lock of his cell door and opened it. He told Charlie to get his hat and coat and follow him. He led him down the corridor to where a group of prisoners were waiting. Here, after putting on his hat and coat, he was handcuffed to another prisoner, and then the crew of them were escorted out of the building. They were all bundled into the police wagon waiting for them and driven away.

Some time later, the patrol wagon turned into a courtyard and stopped. They were all hustled into a huge building where they were all placed in a single large cell and their handcuffs removed.

Soon he and three others were called by name and taken into the court room. Here they were made to stand to one side against the wall. Charlie's name was called first, and he stepped forward. He found himself facing the judge.

The attorney for the state read the charge against him. Then the judge asked who had arrested him, and the detective stepped forward. After pointing out Charlie, he related thus: "There were com-



ART and LITERATURE

Come They Will and Every Dreaming Lad Away

Come madmen will with itching hands and frothing mouths

Come with slogans unsurpassed
Come they will with even better music
and conscripts go in shoulder-high ballet
of pointblank guns hell-bent for peace

Down the boulevard with reason by the collar
Down with something precious in the gutter dry
and sore

Down and out the lights of beauty all around
but down

(tin Jesus the drummer and bugleboy
smuggled from his schoolbooks)

1. "Gentlemen, there has always been wars and wars will always be! We have to have what they've got and fight for what's right, is that quite clear, or must I repeat the whole damn argument for you numbskulls again! You have to meet force with force, of course. You have to be on the jump, on your toes, one move ahead of the next guy. We're mighty lucky we can lick the world."

2. "You have to have something my dear to die for besides love and old-age. Duty and respect for the flag is the real test of manhood. I gave my boys the last time and I'd gladly give them again."

3. "It ain't no sideshow, let me tell you. But hell, I won't have to go again except to them rehearsals on Armistice Day."

(there are many kinds of defense for the masses to quarrel over)

4. "Couldn't we send the generals out to settle the business? Or how about a war with many winners, an Olympic War of makebelieve, with just a few gridiron bruises and nobody taken for dead but the referee or a tug of war maybe to really let the fittest survive?"

(toying with dashboards in a humming sky
doesn't give the landlubber much of a chance to
defend himself)

Come they will clouds of color
Come they will with flower girls to wreathe them
Come they will and every dreaming lad away.

William PETERSON

plaints about intimacies between men loitering in the toilet at the Illinois Central Station, and I was detailed to watch for them. About six-thirty this young man came along. I saw him go into the restaurant. A suspicious character I had been watching came up to him and they started talking. I watched them closely. They talked for about fifteen minutes. Then I saw them leave one at a time and enter the toilet. I waited a while, and then I followed them in. I saw this young man with his hat and coat off, but the other person was gone. I figured that he must have given me the slip. There were a lot of people brushing past all the time. So when this young man tried to leave I arrested him."

Charlie stared aghast.

The judge looked gravely down at him. "What have you to say?" he asked.

Charlie patiently explained to the judge how it had all happened, denying that there had been any intimacy between himself and the other party, that they had met as complete strangers. But his denials only brought a knowing smile to the faces of the listeners. It was the usual plea of innocence heard almost every day in the court room, and the psychology was that a plea of innocence was enough to prove the person's guilt.

The judge looked down at Charlie and said, "The police are in a drive now to cleanse the loop of all undesirable elements during Christmas and New Year, and I'm afraid that you fall into this category."

Charlie gasped.

"According to law," the judge continued, "I must fine you thirty dollars. Can you pay the fine?"

"No, I don't have that much with me, but . . ."

Dilemma of the Modern Poet

No tragedy is more bitter nor more immense than that experienced by our literary goliaths. Perhaps the despair of Poe, Baudelaire, Rimbaud, and Hart Crane was due too often in full measure to the acute, insatiable struggle in themselves to create and interpret a world that can only flourish in the imagination, an incommunicable consciousness, a sphere of higher sensibility that once born is continually at loggerheads with the real world that they must know and accept. One is hypnotized by the morbidity in our cavalcade of literature, delicious melancholy containing all the nuances of emotional frustration of which poets are more susceptible than ordinary men; poets being prone to wonder as well as think, while ordinary men seldom trouble themselves with even the latter. "Truth and Beauty," the immortal platitude of the poet, becomes a plaything for sophistry, and poets, straining as never before to assert their individuality, adopt elaborate abstractions as a natural result of our skeptical times, which leave the intellect with very little to believe in or accomplish, encouraging the artist to rely upon fancy for consolation.

As the symbolists approached the pure music of melancholia, a beauty so poignant that it paralyzes the mind, they indicated the impassable breach between the harmony of nature and the province of imagination on the one hand, and the emptiness and hypocrisy of human relations on the other, especially that of love laboriously conceived but seldom realized or which upon realization is found to be, much as with Baudelaire, an ironic lust.

Once poets were surer of themselves and their little sphere was fat with meaning; they commanded the respect and attention of their fellowmen; life had its intents, its glory, its honor and peace, and above all, was beautiful in a childlike fashion that could be easily expressed. Finally, the poets were confident that they understood and could relate this beauty in the language of poetry. But the stalwart union of aesthetics, religion, and anthropomorphism has dissolved. Now, the poet as an intellectual appendage to a scientific juggernaut, can no longer defend with honesty those naive precepts of his forerunners, nor can he promise anything more inspirational or secure than chaos and mechanization. Peace is the seed he cannot foster even in his isolated mind, which is torn the more for its drastic realizations. He is a man out of his time, unwilling to overhaul his criteria of beauty, constantly aware of his smallness, his impotence, his inability to effect the destiny of man even the slightest with his harkenings. He is only obsessed with the huge sadness of a fatality which he can neither explain nor avert, a lame Dionysus who cannot find a "blueprint for a flower."

One does not have to read widely from contemporary verse to intercept the current of triviality, flippancy, and vain confusion, which leave one of the opinion that these waters would better have been left untroubled. When the poet of today succumbs to an automatic theme of melancholy and resentment, it must be said that he is admitting the paramount truth in literature (or life for that matter), the gallant though futile passion to implant upon existence a purpose suitable to ourselves which can withstand contradiction and elevate man to the threshold of immortality. But all about us we are compelled to witness our nobilities refuted in the commonplaces that rise in a black wall, shunting our horizons. And we are left with an enormous fear of impermanence and inconsequentiality which obscures our transitory vistas of pleasure. It is the torture of knowing too well that all which is beautiful and eternal is another dimension apart from us that defies our perception. But rather than carouse with the clown, let us rally with those who have nothing to sing but sorrow, and who shall say that sorrow is not the most beautiful and worthwhile of emotions?

William PETERSON

Death and Roses

Death passed the village door. . .
The deacon was no more!
Death called again one day . . .
The harlot went his way!
Then the worm came and ate
The lowly and the great . . .
And Roses, white and red,
Grew there where slept the dead.
Deacon and harlot slept
While nations laughed and wept!

William Allen WARD

"Thirty days in the Bridewell. Next."

"But . . ."

The judge pounded his gavel.

"Next case. Take him away."

Charlie was dumbfounded. He couldn't understand. He stared stunned. The court was full of humming noises. As he was led through the door, he turned his head and gave a last despairing glance behind him.

H. MATHEWS

PROTESTS AGAINST PERSECUTION OF OUR EDITOR

Dear Mr. Graham:

I am deeply sorry and a good deal shocked at the news you send me. But I am not a bit discouraged, as I know you are not. This judgment will yet be righted, be sure of that. Along with the appeal to the higher court should go urgent requests to Attorney General Jackson for an investigation of the whole case. I assume that the Civil Liberties Union is doing everything possible in this regard.

I am sorry not to be able to help more at this time. I hope to be in good shape again in the fall. With best wishes

Very sincerely your,

John Haynes Holmes
(Editor "Unity")

Dear Mr. Graham:

I am indeed astonished to learn from your enclosures of the effort made by judicial authorities to prevent your case from coming to legal test.

I am at present serving as Government Secretary to the Virgin Islands, and so far from useful contact with New York publications that I hesitate to write anything which might prove inapplicable for publication I am, however, sending your letter and its enclosures to Mr. Bruce Bliven, the Managing Editor of The New Republic, who will, I am sure, fulfill my request to give the matter proper attention. With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. LOVETT

Dear Mr. Goodwin:

Today I am writing on behalf of Marcus Graham to the Secretary of Labor. Please tell Marcus Graham that I am doing so.

I have been ill throughout the winter and spring and have just returned from the West Indies where I have been in an attempt to recover my health. I am better, but still not able to carry a full load. However, I will do my best for a brave and good man.

Yours faithfully,

Jeanette MARKS
(Poetess and Professor)

Dear Mr. Goodwin:

With one thing and another I've been too mentally upset to do much of anything. I'm now trying to pull myself together.

I think it is dreadful the way Mr. Graham has been persecuted. I've personally asked several to write for me. I have sent the literature out. All good wishes and may RIGHT soon prevail.

Flozari ROCKWOOD
(Poetess and Editor)

Dear Mr. Graham:

After twenty years of this persecution they ought to call a halt. In a quite way I shall do my best by speech with friends and shall send you always my prayers and best wishes that you shall receive better treatment than hitherto.

Most sincerely your well wisher,

Dorothy FAY
(Poetess)

Greetings Courageous comrade:

The magnitude of your case with its twenty years of diabolical persecution evokes from the depths of every liberty-loving being, feelings of resentment against mass ignorance plus the lethargy which allows such crass treatment of an idealist, to persist. Each such case determines greater diligence of those working in freedom's cause.

Your paper becomes more interesting, especially with articles from the pen of Betty Morrison who can, with the ease of Voltaire capture the imagination and enlist one's highest endeavors to aid in the righting of violations against idealists and freedom for which they, like Voltaire's morning glory vine, strive to achieve their dominant idea. When the race does finally wrest its freedom from the opposing forces, it should be a permanent victory nurtured as it has been with the blood and tears of nature's finest specimens of men, women and children.

Sincerely,

Juliet WOODVILLE

Dear Mr. Graham:

With all other men that have any faith in free speech as a reality and not a pretense, I must regard the persecu-

Will You Help?

Two appeals are now pending in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. One appeal is against the second six months prison sentence imposed upon Marcus Graham for refusing to testify against himself, and another appeal is against the denial of the lower court to hear the Writ of Habeas Corpus—that challenges the series of unlawful acts committed against Graham during the last 21 years of governmental persecution—although the same lower court issued the Writ before the contempt charge trial resulting in the sentencing of Graham came to be heard.

Funds are urgently needed to carry through these two appeals.

Send all funds to the: Marcus Graham, Freedom of the Press Committee, P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, California.

tion you are enduring as an intolerable outrage and a revival of the witch-hunting of the Dark Ages. My means to help the fight against this assault upon fundamental principles of liberty are limited, but I will do what I can.

In regard to the "New Leader", I have no influence upon the course of that publication, but I should think off hand that such a case as yours is one that should powerfully appeal to it. We are a minority group. If one minority group can be lawlessly oppressed by an arrogant, fanatical majority, no minority group has any security. For this rea-

Iron Age, official organ of the American Iron and Steel Institute, reports: "One of the most extraordinary transactions is the recent sale of 4,000,000 tons of Belgian coal to France and 6,000,000 tons of French iron ore to Belgium which was transacted by a group of French iron ore mining companies and the Belgian coal cartel. The exchange should be completed within nine months beginning December 1 . . .

"How can Belgium supply 4,000,000 tons of coal and coke and absorb 6,000,000 tons of ore? . . . As both the coal and the ore will be loaded on Belgian cars the assumption is that most of the coal will come from Germany and the iron ore will go to Germany . . .

"That there is also a not unimportant other trade (machinery, tools, implements, etc.) via Belgium between France and Germany has but recently been confirmed by Belgian sources."

—Baltimore "Labor Herald"

Lord Beaverbrook discusses the British War Debt. Publisher maintains his countrymen had ample grounds for believing the United States would not demand repayment of sums advanced.

—Heading over Wireless to N. Y. "Times", Jan. 7, 1940.

London, Jan. 1.—Arthur Greenwood, deputy leader of the Labor Party, today announced his resignation from the presidency of the University of Labor Federation because of a resolution about war which, he says, was "obviously inspired by Communist sources."

The resolution to which Mr. Greenwood objected, and which he debated at the federation's conference at Liverpool this week, described the war as an "imperialist war waged between Hitler fascism and British and French imperialism for profits and world domination"

—New York "Times."

Paris, Jan. 14.—A French patrol ship in the Mediterranean followed a Spanish steamer, carrying German goods, for four hours yesterday, but did not seize it because its cargo included an automobile sent by Chancellor Hitler to Generalissimo Francisco Franco, it was reported authoritatively today.

—United Press

Berlin, Jan. 12.—Gertrud Westphal of Warin was guillotined today for violation of the ordinance against enemies of the people. On Nov. 29 she was convicted of having started a fire on a factory in which she was employed so she would not have to continue working there. A change of employment in Germany is allowed only with the permission of the Labor Front.

—New York "Times".

Dancer Patricia Winfrey was cold, wet and broke, so she called police; broke a window—and went to jail.

—Los Angeles Examiner, Jan. 9, 1940.

Surrogate James A. Foley yesterday authorized Mrs. Brenda Frazier Watriss of 22 East Forty-seventh Street to apply \$52,000 for the support and maintenance of her 19-year-old daughter, Brenda Diana Duff Frazier, during the coming year.

In her petition Mrs. Watriss said her daughter was the income beneficiary of a trust of \$3,500,000, that amounted to \$135,300, and that the accumulated income since the death of Miss Frazier's father amounted to \$373,500.

—New York "Times", Jan. 6, 1940.

After arranging his uniform decorated with nine medals awarded for bravery and denoting the campaigns in which he had been engaged during the World War as a member of the American Expeditionary Force, William Cedral, 50 years old, unemployed, ended his life by inhaling gas yesterday

son, and others, the "New Leader" ought to champion your cause. I am willing to bring it to the attention of the editors, though without much hope.

I think it would strengthen your case with the average citizen if you were to make known what was the question you refused to answer and why you refused. I can see how a prejudice will persist unless that point is made clear.

Yours very truly,

Charles Edward RUSSELL
(Journalist)

I can give no better answer to the question asked by Mr. Russell than to repeat the following three paragraphs of my talk given in the U. S. Court on January 14, 1938 when the pseudo-liberal judge Leon R. Yankwich first sentenced me to six months imprisonment for refusing to testify against myself. I said then:

Why I do not answer any questions—the foremost reason: I have never been a partner to the making of any laws of any country and therefore refuse to recognize any country's right to question me on matters concerning my own personal life or political beliefs.

I have persistently refused to outrage my own self-respect by becoming a witness against myself—and no court in the land, high or low, can or will force me to do so.

If this or any other court attempts to keep me imprisoned for refusing to testify against myself, I do not believe the liberty-understanding people of America will allow me to rot away in a prison for my acting as I have done and will continue to do.

—Marcus GRAHAM

WITHOUT COMMENTS

morning in his two-room apartment at 411 East Seventy-first Street. He had attached a tube to a wall jet.

—New York "Times", Jan. 3, 1940.

Free hot lunches will be served to needy school children, according to Walter Chambers, administrator of state relief. The plan calls for feeding some 200,000 undernourished California children with some of the nation's surplus food.

—Los Angeles Daily Press.

The undeniable difficulties which a beautiful crown of children brings with it, particularly in these times of high costs of living and of families which are not well off, demands courage, sacrifice and sometimes heroism. But like the salutary bitterness of myrrh, this temporary hardship of conjugal duty above all preserves husbands and wives from a grave sin, a lamentable source of ruin for families and nations. In addition, these various difficulties, when courageously faced, assure the preservation of the sacramental grace and an abundance of divine aid to married couples.

—Pope Pius as quoted in N. Y. "Times", Jan. 11, 1940.

Leopold Karczag, 42, native of Hungary, who came here two years ago from Costa Rica, after many years in South America was arrested this week on a charge of illegal entry. He was arrested by Immigration Inspector F. J. Hickey and booked in the county jail at Los Angeles, Cal. Karczag wrote the song, "I Am Proud To Be a Democrat," for Gov. Culbert L. Olson.

—Los Angeles Daily Press.

"Spain has united her voice to that of the Catholic Church and her loving sister, Italy, and to that of other States who are sincerely willing to cooperate in bringing about peace."

—Generalissimo Franco as quoted in N. Y. "Times", Jan. 1, 1940.

War and Profits

One of the ironies of any war between France and Germany is that the greater part of the armament industries of both sides is within cannon shot of the Maginot and Siegfried lines. The steel mills are clustered around the iron and coking-coal deposits in Lorraine and in the Moselle valley in France, and in the Saar and Ruhr valleys in Germany.

Nevertheless, though Paris and Berlin are blacked out nightly in fear of air raids, there is no blackout in the steel centers of Lorraine and the Saar directly across the border from each other. At night the red glare of smelter fires makes the armament factories perfect target for French and German bombers and heavy artillery. But the bombs never come.

Reason is that each side knows that to bomb the other's armament works would be suicidal for it would bring immediate retaliation in kind. Armament factories and the PROFITS deriving therefrom are not as easily replaced as men.

During the World War the iron mines in Lorraine and the Briey basin changed hands several times, but they were never bombed whether held by the French or by the Germans. Of this circumstance in the last war Fortune (March, 1934) said: "What happened at Briey, considered in this light, was very simple: the mere working out of the profit system in armaments to its perfect, logical, and ultimate conclusion."

—Uncensored.

The liberty of man consists solely in this: that he obeys natural laws because he has himself recognized them as such, and not because they have been externally imposed upon him by an extrinsic will whatever divine or human, collective or individual.

—Mikhail BAKUNIN

Financial Statement

INCOME: San Francisco Group (share of affair) \$25.00; Philadelphia Circolo D'Emancipazione Sociale Group (share of affair) \$10.00; Dielo Trouda-Probuzhdenia Group of Mich. \$4.00; On list through Marco Loi \$5.00; Newspaper sales: Seattle \$3.00, Los Angeles \$1.60, San Francisco \$1.00, Liberty Club \$1.00; Juliet Woodville \$3.00; B. Bolloten (books & file) \$2.50; Wm. M. Roak, Claude Lyttle, G. Acornero, Frank Vettorel, Gertrude Wickel, M. Scott, Stanco, W. L. Spaeth, Leo Moio \$2.00; Jules Scareriaux F. Sorhus, Clayton Sanderson, M. Cohn, Joseph Alderson, S. L. Solosy, M. Metzlow, Joe Opposit, Monroe Bartlett, Dan Gillis, Adolph Ligi, J. Karpick, Alfredo Carboni, A. Poggi:

TOTAL	\$89.10
TOTAL INCOME	\$89.10
Balance on Hand	16.52
EXPENDITURES	115.24
DEFICIT	\$9.61